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Related and published by THOMAS FANNANT, Clerke.

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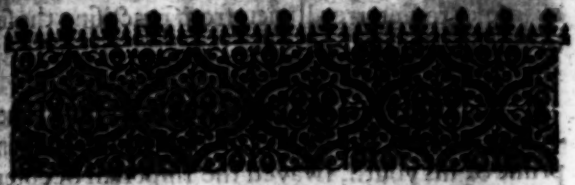

AN HISTORICALL NARRATION OF that Memorable *Parliament*, begun at Westminster 1386, in the tenth yeare of the Reigne of King *Richard* the Second.

THis present occasion so opportunely befitting me, I am resolved to treat of that which hath beene omitted, and slipped out of memorie long since, concerning divers and sundry changes and alterations in *England*, in former times: Nor will it be any way burthensome to write of that, whereby every good and carefull Reader may learne to avoid diversities of miseries, and the danger and feare of cruell death. I will therefore speake of that which hath layne hid in the darksome shade of forgetfulnesse, concerning men who have beene led away by the deceitfull path of Covetousnesse, and have come to

a moſt ſhamefull and ignominious death: a famous example, to deterre all men from practiſing theſe or the like courſes.

ABout the yeare of Chriſt, 1386. at ſuch time as *Richard*, the ſecond of that name, then in prime of his youth, ſwayed the Imperiall Scepter of our Realme, there flouriſhed famous in his Court certaine Peeres, though ſome of them not of any honourable deſcent, yet favoured by fortunes; by name, *Alexander Nevil*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*; *Robert Veere*, D. of *Ireland*; *Michael de la Poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*, then Lord Chancelor; *Robert Treſilian*, Lord chiefe Juſtice of *England*; and *Nicholas Brambre*, ſometimes Major of *London*.

Theſe men being rayſed from meane eſtates by the ſpeciall favour of the King, and advanced to the degree of Privie Councellors, were the men who had the onely rule of the Common-wealth, which they, under the King, governed for ſome ſmall ſpace with carefull diligence, meriting thereby deſerved commendations. But not long did they thus ſteere the Ship of the Kingdome; for many of them being of inferiour ranke by birth, not having their veines dignified with the ſtreames of noble bloud, they were the ſooner enticed with the libidinous baits of voluptuouſneſſe, and infected with inſatiable itch of avarice: inſomuch, that deſpiſing the authoritie of the King, and neglecting the commoditie of the Realme, but onely deſiring to keepe up the Revenues of the Kingdome, ſo wrought, that by their

policie the King is impoverished, the Treasurie exhausted; the Commons murmure at the multiplicitie of Tenths, Levies, and Subsidies; the Peeres repine to see themselves disgraced, and their inferiours honoured; and in a word, the whole Kingdome endures an universall miserie.

The Nobilitie seeing the miserable estate wherein the Kingdome lay, bleeding as it were to death, urged their King to summon a Parliament, which was done shortly after. In which, amongst many other Acts, the afore-named *Michael de la Poole* is dismist of his Chancelorship; and being accused of divers and many points of injustice, as Briberie, Extortion, and the like, he was soone after cast into the Castle of *Windsor*, and all his Lands, which were of no small Revenue, were confiscated to the King. Neither did the Parliament here give over, but provided further for the whole State, by the mutuall consent of the King, and Prelates, Barons, and Commons, with an unanimous conjunction, they constitute and give plenarie and absolute power to certaine Commissioners, as well of the Spiritualtie as of the Temporaltie, for the ordering and disposing of the publique affaires, according as shall seeme best and most necessarie for the desperate estate of the Commonwealth, to depresse civill dissentions, and to pacifie and appease the grudgings of the people.

Of the Spiritualtie, were chosen the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, the afore-named Bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Ely*, lately made Chancelor of

England, the Bishop of *Winchester*; Bishop of *Hereford*, Lord Treasurer; Bishop of *Exeter*, Abbot of *Waltham*, and the Lord *John* of *Waltham*.

Of the Layeie, were elected the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Arundel*, the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Scrope*, and *John Devereux* Knight: these, as men eminent in vertue, were chosen by the generall Suffrage, and sworne to carry themselves as dutifull and obedient subjects in all their actions. And it was further enacted, That if any should refuse or disobey the Ordinances so made for publique good, the punishment of his first offence, should be the confiscation of his goods; and for the second, the losse of life. Thus disposing all things for the best, the Parliament being dissolved, every man returned to his owne house.

Soone after, the afore-named Chancelor, with others of their confederates, being moved with implacable furie against the Statute of the late Parliament, they buzzed into the Kings eares, That the Statutes lately enacted, were very prejudiciall to the honour of his Crowne, and much derogatorie to his Princely Prerogative: insomuch, that he should not have power, without the consent of the new-appointed Commissioners, to doe any thing befitting a King, no, not so much as to bestow a Largesse, a principall meanes to gaine the peoples love upon any, though never so well-deserving.

By these and other the like impious instigations, with which the Devill (as never unmindfull of the end of those, who by their lives doe prove themselves)

selves) did continually supply them, they practised to annihilate and disanull these Acts of the Parliament, which seemed any wayes to abbreviate or curbe their usurped authoritie.

And first, by their serpentine tongues, ambitious projects, flatterie painted out with glosing discourses, and covered over with the shadow of vigilance for the good of the Kingdome, they so bewitched the Noble inclination of the youthfull King, whom they induced to beleeve, that all the ill they did was a generall good; that he began to distaste, and at last to abhorre the last passed Acts, as treacherous Plots and most wicked Devices.

Next, they studied how to ingrosse all or the most part of the Wealth and Riches of the Kingdome into their owne Coffers; and to the same end, dealt so cunningly, yet pleasingly, with the King, that hee gave to the D. of *Ireland*, *Iohn* of *Bois*, the Heire of the Duchie of *Britaine*, and his Ransome; to others, Townes; to others, Cities; to others, Lands; to others, Money, amounting to the summe of 100000 Markes, to the great impoverishment both of King and Kingdome: Neither did these King-eaters and Realme-devourers any thing regard it, but setting unskilfull and insufficient Captaines and Governours over Townes and Forts so obtained, gave occasion to the Enemies of the Crowne to surprize them, and dispossesse the King of them.

Thirdly, vilifying the dignitie of the King, contrarie to their allegeance, they drew the King to sweare,

ſweare, That with all his power, during his life, he ſhould maintaine and defend them from all their Enemies, whether forreine or domeſtick.

Fourthly, whereas it was enacted by the laſt Parliament, That the King at certaine ſeaſonable times, and when his leyſure would permit him, ſhould ſit at *Weſtminſter*, with his Councell there, to conſult of the publique Affaires; through the perſwaſions of the aforeſaid Conſpirators, hee was drawne into the moſt remoteſt parts of the Realme, to the great diſparagement of the fidelitie of thoſe Honourable, grave, and faithfull Peeres, late made joint Commiſſioners, in whoſe hands the whole ſafetie and proſperitie of the Commonwealth did recide.

And when as the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, Keeper of the Privie Seale, or any other of the Privie Councell, came to relate any of their owne actions, or the State of the Realme, they could not be granted acceſſe, unleſſe they related the buſineſſe in the preſence and hearing of the conſpirators, who were alwayes ready to upbraid them if they uttered any thing that diſpleaſed them, and to commend them for any thing (though moſt nefarious) that did content them, for thus could they the ſooner learne and dive into the acts of the Commiſſioners, and the better finde evaſions for their accuſations: Furthermore, when as the King in company of the Conſpirators went in progreſſe towards the parts of *Cheſhire*, *Wales*, and *Lancaſhire*, they made Proclamation in the Kings Name throughout the

Shires

Gates as they journyed, That all Barons, Knights, Esquires, with the greateſt part of the Commialty able to beare Armes, ſhould ſpeedily repaire to the King for his defence againſt the power of the Commiſſioners, chiefly of the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Earle of *Arundel*, becauſe they above the reſt, did with their chiefeſt endeavours, ſtudy to ſuppreſſe and quell the devices of the Conſpirators.

Fifthly, contrary to the afore-ſaid Acts, they cauſed the D. of *Ireland* to be created Chiefe Juſtice of *Cheſter*, thereby ſelling Juſtice as they liſted, condemning the guiltleſſe, and remitting the guilty, never reſpecting or looking unto the equall ballance of Juſtice, but poizing downe the ſcales with heapes of Bribery.

Sixthly, by the procurement of the confederates, they cauſed certaine honeſt perſons, who would not conſent to their extortions, to bee called and ſummoned to their Court, and there to anſwer to certaine falſe accuſations, wherewith they were unjuſtly charged by perjured hirelings; of which men ſo accuſed, ſome were put to death, ſome caſt into priſon, all were vexed and troubled with delayes, length of their journey to and fro, and exceſſive charges; neither were they eaſed of any of theſe burthens, unleſſe they would part with round ſummes of money to the D. and his Complices.

Seventhly, they gave pardons under the Broad Seale, to Felons, Murtherers, and ſuch like, only with this condition, that they ſhould murther any

whomsoever they thought did mislike their Ex-action.

Eightly, they taught the Countrey of *Ireland* to looke to its pristine estate, I meane, of having a King; for they plotted to have the Duke created King of *Ireland*: and for the confirmation of which their designe, they allured the King to send his Letters to the Pope.

Ninthly, the aforesaid *Nicholas Brambre*, in the time of his Majoraltie, caused two and twentie to be falsely accused of Felonies, and layd into *Newgate*, under pretext and colour of divers Crimes, and in the silent and dead time of the night to be fast bound, and by a strong hand to be carryed into *Kent*, to a place commonly called *Fawlocke*, and then to have their heads struck off, except one, who being favoured by the murtherers, safely escaped; the bloud of the rest dyed the streames of a small Rivelet adjoyning.

Tenthly, soone after, to adde one mischiefe to another, they sent Letters under the Kings Signes, to the Major of *London*, by *John Rippon* Clerke, with a certaine Libell or Schedule inclosed in the said Letters, the tenor of which is as followeth.

That the afore-named three Commissioners, viz. the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and other of the Councell, were to be arrested, indicted, condemned, and put to lamentable death, as being such as had conspired against the King, against his Prerogative, and against his Crowne and Imperiall Dignitie; and to this, they did in a manner constraine the King to assent unto.

Upon

Upon receit of these Letters, the Major and Aldermen of the Citie of *London* called a Common Councell, wherein they consulted what course were best to be taken in this matter, and after long [illegible] it was on all sides agreed, to devise means to suffer that cruell and unheard of Tragicall Complot to be executed.

It ever happeneth, one wicked Act drawes on a second, and that second a third, and so forwards, till the weight cracks the Supporter.

Therefore the said Conspirators being blinded with rashnesse, principally sent Letters by *John Goffrey* Knight, to the King of *France*, the Kings Adversarie, to conclude a five yeares Truce, should come over to *Calis*, and from thence should send the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and for some other of the Commissioners, as though the King were unwilling to determine of any thing without their advice; and being thus circumvented, should be condemned as Traytors, and so put to an ignominious and cruell death.

And for the doing and performing of these things, the King of *France* was to recover all the Castles, Townes, and Lands lying in these Countreyes, and belonging to the King of *England*: To prove these things to be true, there were certaine Writings produced by the Commissioners, wherein were contained Letters from the King of *France* to the King of *England*, and from the Conspirators in the King of *Englands* Name, to the King of *France*.

Moreover, there were other Letters intercepted, directed to the ſaid King of *France*; the ſubſtance whereof, was to incite the King of *France* to levie a puiſſant power both horſe and foot, and to draw them downe to *Bulloigne*, and thence to tranſport them into *England*, againſt the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, and all thoſe that did either countenance or favour the ſaid Statute and Commiſſioners; which as they falſely alledged, was made in derogation of the Kings Prerogative, and the aforeſaid Commiſſioners to vanquiſh, oppreſſe, and put to death, and conſequently, the whole Nation and Language utterly to ruine.

Not here concluding their divelliſh Conſpiracie, the five aforeſaid Conſpirators departed from *Weſtminſter* to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, and ſent a Writ for *Robert Beale*, Lord chiefe Juſtice of the Common Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, and *William Burleigh*, Judges of the ſaid Court, and for *John Lecton*, the Kings Serjeant at Law: who being come into the Councell-Chamber, not knowing what they were ſent for, the aforeſaid Conſpirators cauſed the Gates and Doores of the Caſtle to be ſhut, and then propounded theſe Queſtions following unto them.

Firſt, Whether thoſe Statutes, Ordinances, and Commiſſion, made in the late Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, were derogatorie to the Kings Dignitie and Kingly Prerogative; and, becauſe they were to be puniſhed who did procure thoſe Conſtitutions, and did incite and move the King to conſent

unto

unto them, and did as much as in them lay to hinder the King from exercising his Royall Prerogative.

To these and other the like Questions, with a joint consent they answered, That they were to suffer death as Traytors, or else to endure some capitall punishment: in witnesse of which assertion, being terrified with the feare of present death, the aforesaid Judges, together with *John Carey*, Lord chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, they signed and sealed a certaine Writing, in manner of a protestation, in presence of these Witnesses, *Alex. Nevil*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, Archbishop *Bangor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earle of *Suffolke*, *John Rippon* Clerke, and *John Blake* Fruiterer; dated the 19. of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1387, in the 11. yeare of the Reigne of K. *Richard* the Second. Then were they compelled to sweare, that they should keepe the passages undiscovered, upon paine of death; and so they had licence to depart. And when they had plotted those and many other divellish Conspiracies, they bound themselves by an Oath, to trie all wayes and use all meanes, as farre forth as lay in their power, to disannull and utterly abrogate the Acts and Statutes of the last Parliament.

And that which is worse, they caused the King to sweare, That in his proper person with his whole power he should take revenge of the Duke of *Glocester*, of the two Earles and their adherents, by causing them to be put to death.

The carriage of all which Actions may more easily be knowne, if the time and the order of them be duly considered.

But our mercifull and ever-gracious God, although there were so many Plots, so many Conspiracies, so many Treasons wrought against our State, whereby many miseries did accrue to our Kingdome; yet unwilling to take revenge, or to punish us for our sinnes, but rather according to his gracious pitie, to ease us of our burthenous calamitie; inspired into the hearts of the aforesaid Duke of *Glocester*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the spirit of valour and magnanimitie: who seeing the heape of ills that dayly did arise by the practises of those Conspirators; they set almost in every part of the Kingdome Intelligencers, who should apprehend all Messengers, and intercept all Letters of the Kings, or that went under the Kings Name, and should send them to the Commissioners.

And thus did they come to have intelligence of the whole Plot of the Conspirators; all their Letters being indorced with, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth peace, and good will towards men*: and by comming to the knowledge of each circumstance, they found, that the Kingdome was at the point of destruction; according to that Evangelicall saying, *Every Kingdome divided against it selfe, shall be dissolved*: wherefore they sought for a Remedie; for by the Law of Nature, it is tollerable to repell violence by violence: sithence it is better to prevent then to apply a Remedie to wound, every man according to his abilitie levied a power for the preservation of the King and Kingdome; all which Forces being united, amounting to the number of 20000 fighting men, and couragiously resolving to

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fruſtrate all the intended deſignes of the Conſpirators, and to open the Nut by cracking the Shell; they divided their Armie, committing part of it to the Earle of *Arundel*: who by night marched away with his Forces, and pitched his Tents neere to *London*, there fortifying himſelfe in the Forreſt adjoyning, untill ſuch time as hee had gained more convenient time and greater force, by the comming of his Conſorts: And in the meane time hee uſed ſuch diſcipline in his Campe, that hee lacked nothing, but all things were there ſold at reaſonable rates, as it had beene at a Market; and hardly could he containe the common people for joyning with him, for the overthrow of the Conſpirators and their adherents.

On the other ſide, the Conſpirators intending to prevent their purpoſes, by power of a certaine Spirituall Commiſſion, and by vertue of certaine Letters Patents in the hands of the Conſpirators, though nothing to the purpoſe; yet to blind the people, they cauſed to be proclaymed throughout the whole Citie of *London*, That none upon paine of the forfeiture of all their Goods, ſhould neither ſell, give, or communicate privately or publiquely Victuall, Armour, or any other neceſſaries to the Armie of the Earle of *Arundel*, but ſhould debarre them of ſuſtentation, comfort, or helpe, as Rebels to the King and Countrey. But on the other ſide, they began to feare when they were denyed their hoped [illegible] Aid by the Major and Comminaltie of the C[illegible] of *London*; and againe, they were troubled at the riſing of the Commoners, to invade them.

them. Wherefore they counſelled the King to abſent himſelfe from the Parliament (which was to begin at *Candlemas* next, according as the King and Commiſſioners had appointed it) and not conſult of the Affaires of the Kingdome, nor of his owne Eſtate, commoditie or diſcommoditie, unleſſe the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the two Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, would ſweare, That neither they, nor any in their name, ſhould accuſe them or urge any accuſation againſt them.

And they cauſed it to be proclaimed through the Citie of *London*, That none under paine of confiſcation of all their goods, ſhould ſpeake any upbraiding ſpeeches concerning the King, or the Conſpirators; which was a thing impoſſible to hinder.

Not long after it happened, that the King, with the aforeſaid five Conſpirators, came from his Mannor of *Sheene* to *Weſtminſter*, to Saint *Edmonds* Tombe, for the ſolemnizing of a Pilgrimage. The Major and Aldermen of the Citie of *London* met him on horſebacke ſumptuouſly attyred, honouring him very much. And when they came to the *Mewes*, they deſcended from their Horſes, and went bare-foot to the Tombe of Saint *Edmond*; whereas the Chaplaine of the Commiſsioners, with the Abbot and Covent, met them with a ſtately Proceſsion.

In the meane time the three Noblemen, *viz.* the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick* having muſtered their troupes on the

foure-

fourteenth of *November*, in the same yeare, at *Waltham Crosse*, in the Countie of *Hertford*, and from thence sent for the Commissioners that were there at *Westminster* in Parliament with the King, finding an Accusation in writing to the King against the aforesaid Conspirators, viz. the Archbishop of *Yorke*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Tresilian*, and *Nicholas Brembre*; wherein they accused them of high Treason. Which their Appellation they did offer to maintaine, and that they were willing to prosecute the same; and to prove it to be true, they caused also the rest of the Commissioners to subscribe, as parties to their Appellation.

When these things came to the eares of the King, he sent unto them, requiring to know what their request was, and what they wished to have beene done. They returned answer thus, That they did desire, that the Traytors which were alwayes about him, filling his eares with false reports, and did dayly commit insufferable Crimes and Injuries, might be rewarded with condigne punishment; for it were better that some few should dye for the people, then the whole Nation should perish.

And they likewise craved, that they might have safe liberty of going and comming to his Grace.

When the King heard their Request, hee gave them his Royall consent, and commanded them to appeare at *Westminster*; and the King sitting on his Throne in the great Hall, the three aforesaid

Peeres Appellants, with a gallant Troupe of Gentlemen entred, and making three lowly obeysances on their bended knees, they reverenced the King: and drawing neere (the cause of their comming being alledged) they there againe appealed the Archbishop, Duke of *Ireland*, Earle Treasurer, and *Beambre* of high Treason, according as they had done before at *Waltham Crosse*; but they betaking themselves to the private corners of the Pallace, even as *Adam* and *Eve* from the presence of God, not having the heart to appeare, to justifie themselves.

The King called forth the Appellants, to prove and prosecute the Appellation, prescribing them a day and place for the Tryall, which was to be on the morrow after *Candlemas* day; and in the meane time, the King commanded them upon their Honours, not any partie to molest the other, untill the next Parliament.

Those things thus passed, were publikely proclaymed throughout all *England*, and they departed joyfully.

The Duke of *Ireland*, under the guide of his Grand Captaine the Devil, marching into *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Wales*, raysed a new power, amounting to the number of 6000 fighting men, in the Kings name to overthrow and confound the Appellants; from thence, marched towards *London* with his Armie, with a furious intent and resolution to performe his bloudie designe. But God beholding their foolish hearts, filled them with vaine hopes, that they should accomplish their enterprises.

And whileſt theſe Plots were layd, the Appellants being ſuddenly advertiſed thereof, rayſed a power, and joyning with them the Earle of *Derby*, and the Earle of *Nottingham*, and other Commiſsioners, marched with long and wearied Marches into a Field neere a Village called *Whitney*, at a place called *Lotkford Bridge*: In which Field the Duke of *Ireland* was with the Armie, having a River on the one ſide of them, whereas they ſtood readie prepared to give an overthrow to the Appellants, and diſplaying the Kings Standard, contrarie to the Lawes of the Land: But although they were ſo valiant at the beginning, yet were they diſcouraged at the end; for when they ſaw the Armie of the Appellants march downe from the Mountaines like a Hive of Bees, and with ſuch a violent furie, feare benummed them, and they were ſo amazed, that when they ſhould give the Aſſault (God not ſuffering the effuſion of bloud) they ſtood like a Hive of Bees, or a flock of Cattell without a head, making no ſhew or countenance of reſiſting; but without any ſtroke given, they flung downe their Armes, and yeelded themſelves to the mercie of the Appellants; and a few being ſlaine, and ſome drowned in the River, gave an eaſie Victorie to the Conquerors. The Duke of *Ireland* himſelfe putting ſpurres to his Horſe, tooke the River, and hardly eſcaped; and though he was purſued, yet he eſcaped through the middeſt of the Troupes. And thus by the mercie of God they obtained the glorious Palme of Victorie from the Hand of Heaven.

When the newes of the Victorie was blowne to the eares of the reſt of the Conſpirators, who were then ſtricken with feare, and carefull for their preſervation, under covert of the night they fled by Water to the Tower, drawing the King along with them.

On the other ſide, *Nicholas Brambre* with a bold and reſolute courage, in the Kings Name cauſed all the Gates of the Citie to be ſhut againſt the Appellants, and to be guarded with an able and ſufficient Watch: But theſe worthy and dauntleſſe Members of the Common-wealth marched towards *London*, to conferre with the King; but when they heard that the ſaid *Nicholas Brambre* had cauſed the Gates of the Citie to be ſhut againſt them, and to be ſtrongly guarded, and that the whole Citie did purpoſe to keepe them out, they ſtayed their reſolution.

On the 27 day of *September*, in the ſame yeare, with a melodious ſound of divers kinds of Inſtruments, as well of Warre as of Peace, they encamped themſelves in *Clarkenwell*, within the Liberties of the Citie of *London*; not purpoſing on the one ſide, raſhly or unadviſedly to enter the Citie, nor on the other ſide, to make any ſhew of feare; but with a ſtayed mind (as befitting wiſe men) with good deliberation to conclude every thing in its due time. And when as the Major, with the Citizens, came unto them with pleaſing words, promiſing unto them all that the Citie could afford, with reaſon and equitie; the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſaid, Now I know, that Lyers ſpeakes nothing but Lyes, neither

neither can any man hinder them from the relating: Whereupon, by a joynt consent, in the Evening they removed their Tents, and pitched them before divers Gates of the Citie.

On the morrow there happened an enterview betweene the King and the Appellants, so farre, that they opened their minds one to the other: but because the King loathed to speake with them, with such a rabble of men, and in regard of an intolerable boldnesse, and some quarrell which was like to arise; and on the other side, refusing to goe out of the *Tower* to speake with them, and the Appellants fearing some violence or wrong to be offered to them, would not speake with the King without a strong guard of valiant Warriors. Therefore the most wise of the Appellants, after divers disputations had, resolved to goe and conferre with the King: but first they sent a strong Troupe well armed, to search all the Corners and Caves of the *Tower*, and relation being made of the safetie of the place, with a selected Band of valiant Cavaliers they entred the *Tower*, and seizing the Gates, and placing a Guard, appeared before the King; and there the third time appealed the aforetald Conspirators, in the same sort and forme as before: Which Appellation being ended, the King swore, That he would adhere to their counsell, as a good King, and a just Judge, so farre as the Rule of Law, Reason, and Equitie did require.

These things being accomplished, they departed from the *Tower* to their Tenements and Lodgings: And then it was published and made knowne in

the presence of the King, and throughout the Dominions, That on the morrow after *Candlemas* day the aforesaid Conspirators should personally appeare, to answer to the Appellation, whereby they were charged of so many Treasons.

And because the Harvest was now ripe, and time convenient to cut up those pestiferous Cockles and Thistles, by the assent of the King, and consent of the said Commissioners and Appellants, they expulsed divers of the Officers of the Household; *viz.* in the place of *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the Household, they appointed *John Devourex*, Knight, one of the Commissioners; *Peter Courtney*, Knight, was made Chamberlaine, in the stead of *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*. And the aforesaid *John de Beauchamp*, *Symon de Burleigh*, Vice-Chamberlaine, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Trynett*, *James Barats*, *VVilliam Ellingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knights; and Officers of the Clergie, (*viz.*) *Richard Metford* Secretarie, *John Blake* Deane of the Chappell; *John Lincolne* Chancelor of the Exchequer, and *John Clifford* Clerke of the Chappell were kept under arrest too, and were as partakers in the aforesaid Treason; for that they knowing and having intelligence of the said Conspiracie, they did not discover them.

Others also, as Servants of the aforesaid Conspirators, and drawne in by Craft, yet guiltlesse, were dismissed and sent away, as men unprofitable, and good for no use.

And thus this hideous brood of Monsters, so often shaken, was quite overthrowne.

And

And on the Vigil of the Purification of Saint *Mary*, in the Privie Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, by joynt conſent of all the Commiſſioners, the aforeſaid *John* [illegible] *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, *William Burleigh*, *John Locton*, and *John Carey* were diſplaced from their Offices, and without any further adoe arreſted of Treaſon, and by the command of the Chancelor were clapt into the *Tower*; and *Roger Cotton* in the place of *Belknap*, *Walter Clopton* in the place of *Treſilian*, were conſtituted: and ſo for that time they departed, and went to Dinner.

And becauſe *Shrovetide* was thought a fit time to puniſh the Delinquents, according to their deſerts; therefore the great Parliament began the ſecond of *February* following, in this manner:

All the Peeres, as well of the Spiritualtie as of the Temporaltie, being aſſembled in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, the King ſoone after came and ſate downe in his Throne; and after him appeared the five Noblemen Appellants, (the fame of whoſe admired worth ecchoed through all the Land) entred the Houſe in their coſtly Robes, leading one another hand in hand, with an innumerable compaſſe following them; and beholding where the King ſate, all at once, with ſubmiſſive geſtures, they reverenced the King. The Hall was ſo full of Spectators, that the very Rooſes were filled with them: and yet amongſt this infinite multitude of people, there could not be found any of the Conſpirators, or of their Complices; but *Brambre* was taken a little before, and caſt into the Gaole of *Glouceſter*.

The Clergie then plating themselves on the right hand, and the Nobilitie on the left hand of the King, according to the ancient Custome of the High Court of Parliament; the Lord Chancelor standing with his back towards the King, by the Kings command declared the cause of their Summons to the Parliament: Which being ended, the five foresaid Appellants arising, declared their Appellation by the mouth of *Robert Pleisington* their Speaker, who thus spake:

Behold, the Duke of *Glocester* comes to purge himselfe of Treasons which are layd to his charge by the Conspirators. To whom the Lord Chancelor, by the command of the King answered: My Lord Duke, the King conceiveth so honourably of you, that he cannot be induced to beleeve, that you, who are of affinitie to him in a collateral Line, should attempt any Treason against his sacred Majestie. The Duke, with his foure Companions, upon their knees humbly gave thankes to the King, for his gracious opinion of their fidelitie.

Then after silence proclaymed, they arose, and delivered in certaine Articles in Writing, wherein were contained the particularitie of the Treason. Which said Articles were read by *Godfrey Mawin*, the Clerke of the Crowne, standing in the midst of the Parliament House, by the space of two houres, with an audible voice. At the reading of which, there was a wonderfull alteration in the House: For, whereas before the people were glad of the discoverie of the Treason; at the rehearsall

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of it, their hearts were so overcome with griefe, that they could not refraine from teares. When the Articles were read, the Appellants requested the King, that sentence of condemnation might be given against the Conspirators, and they to receive the guerdon of their deserts, which the King promised to grant. This was the first dayes worke. The second was ended with variation of divers Consultations, which I will not relate in particular, but treat of the whole Parliament in generall.

And when the third day came of their proceedings against the Conspirators, the Lord Chancelor in the name of the Clergie, in open Parliament made an Oration, shewing that they could not by any meanes be present at the proceeding, whereas there is any censure of death to be passed. For the confirmation whereof, they delivered in a Protestation, which being read, they spake, That neither in respect of any favour, nor for feare of any mans hate, nor in hope of any reward, they did desire to absent themselves; but onely, that they were bound by the Canon, not to be present at any mans Arraignement or Condemnation. They likewise sent their Protestation to the Chappell of the Abbey, where the Commons sate, which was allowed of. And then, when the Appellants called for Justice against the Conspirators, the Lords of the Spiritualtie arose, and went into the Kings Chamber neere adjoyning.

But the King being moved in Conscience, and in Charitie, perceiving that in every worke they

ate to remember the end; and being willing (contrarie to the rigour of the Law) to favour rather these that were guiltie then the Actors in that Treason; if they were able to alledge any thing in their defence, caused the Proceſſe to ceaſe: but the Peeres (being earneſt) requeſted, That no buſineſſe paſt, preſent, or to come, might be debated, untill this Treaſon were adjudged; to which Petition, the King graciouſly granted his aſſent.

On the 11. day of *February*, when nothing could be alledged, nor no witneſſe produced, in juſtification of the Conſpirators, but that the definitive Sentence of Condemnation muſt be pronounced againſt them; the aforeſaid *John Devereux*, Marſhall of the Court, and for that time the Kings Lieutenant, adjudged them this heavie Doome; That the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earle of *Suffolke*, *Treſilian*, and *Brambre*, ſhould be drawne from the *Tower* to *Tyborne*, and there to be hanged upon a Gibbet untill they were dead, and all their Lands and Goods to be confiſcated, that none of their poſteritie might be by them any way enriched.

On the 12. day of *February*, which was the firſt day of *Shrovetide*, *Nicholas Brambre* appeared in Parliament; and being chatged with the aforeſaid Articles of Treaſon, he craved favour to adviſe of Councell learned, and ſome longer time for his more full anſwer to his Accuſation; but yet hee deſired a thing neither uſuall, nor allowable by the Law, and required a thing which the rigour of the Law, in caſe of that nature, would not affoord.

But the Judges charged him to answer severally to every point in the Articles contained: Whereunto *Brembre* answered, Whosoever hath branded me with this ignominious marke, with him I am ready to fight in the Lists, to maintaine my Innocencie, whensoever the King shall appoint. And this hee spake with such a furie, that his eyes sparkled with rage, and he breathed as if an Æetna had lay hid in his breast; chusing rather to die gloriously in the field, then disgracefully on a Gibbet.

The Appellants hearing this couragious Challenge, with resolute countenance answered, That they would willingly accept of the Combate, and thereupon flung downe their Gages before the King; and on a sudden, the whole companie of Lords, Knights, Esquires, and Commons flung downe their Gages so thick, that they seemed like Snow in a Winters day, crying out, Wee also will accept of the Combate, and will prove these Articles to be true to thy head, most damnable Traytor, and so they departed for that day.

And although the Appellants were not idle in the night, yet on the next day, to aggravate their Appellation against the Conspirators, there came divers companies of the Citie of *London*, complaining of the manifold injuries they had suffered by *Brembre*, and other Extortions and Exactions wherewith they had beene dayly charged; and yet they protested, that they did not accuse him either for hate to his person, or for love, feare, or hope of reward from his enemies, but onely they charged him with the truth.

But before they proceed with his tryall, they were stayed by most unfortunate *Tresilian*, who being gon upon the top of an house adjoyning to the Pallace, and had descended into a gutter onely to looke about him, he was discovered by certaine of the Peeres, who presently sent some of the Guard to apprehend him, who entring into the house where hee was, and having spent long time in vaine in looking for him, at length one of the Guard kept to the Master of the house, and taking him by the shoulder with his Dagger drawne, thus said, Shew us where thou hast hid *Tresilian*, or else resolve thy dayes here accomplished, the Master trembled, ready to yeeld up the Ghost, for feare answered, Yonder is the place where he lyes, and shewes him a round Table covered with branches of Bay, under which *Tresilian* lay close covered, when they had found him they drew him out by the heeles, wondring to see him, as wipers use, to weare his head and beard o'r-grown, with old clowted shooes, and patched hose, more like a miserable poore beggar, then a Judge.

When this came to the eares of the Peeres, the five Appellants suddenly arose up, and without expressing any reason, departed out of the Parliaments house, which bred great alteration in the House, insomuch that many followed them, and when they come to the Gate of the Hall, they met the Guard leading of *Tresilian* bound, crying, as they came, We have him, we have him.

Tresilian being come into the Hall, was asked

what he could say for himselfe, why judgement should not passe upon him for his treason so often committed, hee became as one that had beene stroke dumbe, and his heart was as it were hardned to the very last, and would not confesse himselfe guilty of any thing: And for this cause the Parliament arose, deferring *Brembres* tryall till the next day. But *Trefilian* was without delay led to the Tower, that he might suffer the execution of the sentence passed against him, his wife and his children did with maine teares accompany him to the Tower, but his wife was so overcome with dolour and griefe, that shee fell downe in a swound as if she had beene dead.

Immediately *Trefilian* is upon a hurdle, and drawne thorow the streets of the City, with a wonderfull concourse of people following him, at every furlongs end hee was suffered to stand still to rest himselfe, and to see if hee would confesse and report himselfe of any thing, but what he said to the Fryer his Confessor is not knowne, neither am I able to search it out: when hee came to the place of execution he would not climbe the Ladder, untill such time as being soundly beaten with bats and staves he was forced to goe up, and when he was up, hee said, so long as I doe weare any thing upon me I shall not dye, wherefore the executioner stripped him, and found certaine Images painted like to the signes of Heaven, and the head of a Devill painted, and the names of many of the Devills wrote in Parchment, the exorcising toyes being taken away, and hee was hanged up naked,

and because the spectators should be certainly assured that he was dead, they cut his throat, and because the night approached, they let him hang untill the next morning, and then his wife having obtained a licence of the King, tooke downe his body and carryed it to the Grey-Fryers, where it was buried. On the morrow sentence was likewise pronounced against *Brembre*, who being drawne upon a hurdle from the Tower to Tyborne thorow the City, shewed himselfe very penitent, humbly craving mercy and forgivenesse at the hands of God and men, whom he had so grievously offended, and whom he had so injuriously wronged in time past, and did earnestly desire them all to pray for him; when the rope was about his necke ready to be turned off, a certaine young man, the sonne of one *Northampton*, asked him if hee had done justice to his Father or not, for *Northampton* was sometimes Maior of the Citie of *London*, more wealthy and more substantiall then any else in the City, him did *Brembre* and *Tresilian* accuse of Treason and Conspiracie against the State, and condemned him to dye, being dispoyled of his estate, he himselfe at length hardly escaped, to whom *Brembre* answered and confessed with bitter teares, that what hee did was most vile and wicked and with an intent onely to murther and overthrow the said *Northampton*, for which craving pardon of the young man being suddenly turned off, and the Executioner cutting his throat, he dyed. Behold how pleasant and delightfull it is to climbe up to honour, I suppose

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it is better to live meanely at home with quietneſſe amongſt poore men, then to Lord it amongſt Princes, and in the end to climbe a ladder amongſt Theeves, it is even better to undergoe the burden then to aſſume the name of honour, therefore whoſoever that doth not regard the Lawes, let them obſerve and conſider the end of theſe men, and with what period they finiſhed their dayes.

Theſe men being diſpatched, the Parliament diſcontinued their proceedings againſt the reſt of the Conſpirators till a more convenient time, and toake into their conſiderations other more weighty affaires of the weale publike, they made the Earle of *Arundel* Lord Admirall, giving him authority to reſiſt and to repulſe either by Sea or Land the enemies of the Crowne whereſoever he ſhould finde them.

And it was further agreed on, that for the appeaſing of all private diſcontents (if an were) the King and the reſt of the Appellants with the reſt of the Commiſſioners ſhould dine together in the great Hall, which they did, and there was great joy at this reconciliation thorow all the Kingdome.

When theſe things were concluded, they then began againe this arraignment of the Traytors, whereupon *John Blake* and *Thomas Uſke* were indicted on the 4. day of March, who although they were men of inferior quality yet were they found to bee parties in the ſaid Treaſon; *Uſke* was a Sergeant at Armes, and was indicted amongſt the Conſpirators, ſo that being

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late made Sheriffe of *Middlesex* hee had indicted the five Appellants and the Commissioners as Traytors, and *Blake* was an Intelligencer of *Tresilians*, one that used to goe and come betweene the Conspirators, and relate the state and successe of the treason from one to another.

And when they could say nothing to prove themselves cleare, sentence was pronounced upon them as their Masters were before them, they were carried to the Tower, and from thence were dragged at the Horse tayle to Tyborne, and there hanged.

But *Vske* obtained this favour, that his head was cut off after hee was hanged and set aloft upon Newgate for Fowles of the ayre to take repast.

On the sixth day of March there were called to answer, *Robert Belknap*, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorpe*, *William Burleigh*, *John Lofton*, and *John Carey* Baron of the Exchequer for their conspiracy against the Commissioners at *Nottingham*, but because it is not needfull to rehearse every part of their indictment, they were all condemned like as the rest.

Whilst the Peeres were trying them, the Clergie were retired into the Kings Chambers, but when word was brought to them of the condemnation of the Iudges, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, Lord Keeper of the Privie Seale arose hastily and went into the Parliament house, powring forth their complaints before the King and

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the Peeres humbly upon their knees beſeeching them that for the love of God, the Virgin *Mary*, and of all the Saints, even as they hoped to have mercy at the day of Judgement, they ſhould ſhew favour and not put to death the ſaid Judges then preſent, and bitterly bewayling their iniquities in whoſe hearts the very life, ſoule, and ſpirit of our Engliſh Lawes lived, flouriſhed, and appeared, and there appeared great ſorrow both on the one part of the Complainants and alſo of the Defendants.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* likewiſe with the Earles of *Arundel*, *Werwick*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*, whoſe hearts began to be mollified, and joyned with them in their lamentable Petition.

At length interceſſion of the Clergy, the execution upon the perſons was ceaſed, and their lives were granted them, but were ſent to the Tower to be kept cloſe priſoners.

On the 12. of March, being thurſday, it happned that the afore-ſaid Knights, *Simon de Burleigh*, *John de Beauchamp*, *James Burroverſe*, and *John Salisbury* were brought into the Parliament houſe where their accuſations was read, proved, they found guilty, and not any way able to cleare themthemſelves.

From this day almoſt till the Aſſenſion of our Lord, the Parliament houſe was only taken up with the tryall of Sir *Symon Burlough*, for three Appellants, *viz.* The Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke*, with the whole houſe of Commons, vrged that execution might be per-

formed according to the Law: And on the other side, the King, and Queene, the Earles of *Darby*, and *Nottingham*, and the Prior of Saint *Johns* his Vncle, with the major part of the vpper House, did labour to have him saved.

But because the Commons were tyred with so long delayes, and excuses in the Parliament; and fearing, as it was most like, that all their paines would be to little or no purpose, they humbly craved leave of the King, to goe to their habitations.

There was also some muttering amongst the Common people, and it was reported to the Parliament, that the Commons did rise in diverse parts of the Realme, but especially about *Kent*, in favour of the said Sir *Simon Burleigh*, which when they heard those, that before spake and stood for him, now flew cleane from him, and by joynt consent on the fifth day of *May*, sentence was pronounced only against the said Sir *Symon*, that hee should be drawne from the Tower to Tyborne; and then to be hanged till hee were dead, and then to have his head strooke from his body. But because he was a Knight of the Garter, a gallant Courtier, powerfull, and once a Favourite of the Kings, and much respected of all the Court, the King of his speciall Grace, was pleased to mittigate his doome, that he should only be led to Tower-hill, and there beheaded.

On the twelfe of *May*, the Thursday before Whitsontyde, in like manner were condemned, *John Beaushamp* Steward of the household to the

King, *James Berevorus*, and *John Salsbury* knights, Gentlemen of the privie Chamber, whereof the two first, *viz. John Beauchamp*, and *James Bereverous* were beheaded on Tower-hill, but *John Salsbury* was drawn from Tower-hill to Tyborne, and there was hanged.

On the same day also, was condemned the Bishop of *Chichester* the Kings Confessor, but because of his great dignitie, he was pardoned. Now they began to loath the shedding of so much Christian blood, they tooke into consideration, other more weighty affaires for the good of the Realme concerning the Wars with the *Scots* and *French*, concerning Loanes and Subsidues, and of the customes of Wine and Wooll.

And also concerning the translation of some Bishops, because Pope *Vrban* the sixth, after it came to his eares, that the Archbishop of *Yorke* was condemned, to avoyd all hope of Irregularity, he created him Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes* in *Scotland*: which Archbishop was under the power of *Scots*, enemies to the Crown; and in the gift of the Arch-Pope: and because the Pope did chalenge halfe the title of all *England* to maintaine his Wars, but although he craved it, yet he was denyed: therefore hee dealt warily and craftily; hoping to make up his mouth, by the translation of Bishops: the Bishop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellor, was made Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Dublyn* succeeded in his place; the Bishop of *Bathan-Wells* in his place: the Bishop of *Sarum* in his place, and the Lord *John* of *Waltham*, Lord-keeper of the pri-

vie Seale in his place: And this by his translation of Bishops, he gained himselfe much money, according to the Lawes of the Canon; and when this came to the eares of the Parliament, that such a summe of money should be transported out of the Land, they strove what they could to hinder it, but could not, because the Clergie gave their consent.

On the last day of May, the King appointed both houses to meet at *Keemington*, whereas they made a conclusion of all the tryalls of the said treason, granting license to *Thomas Trevet*, *William Ellingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knights, *Richard Metford*, *John Slake*, *John Lincolne*, Clerkes, to put in baile, provided they were sufficient, and to goe into a place of *England* where they listed, without any let or hindrance of any of the Kings Officers.

Moreover, the six Iustices, with the Bishop of *Chicheſter*, who stood condemned with them, were sent into *Ireland*, there to remaine for tearme of life, and thus they were to be divided, *viz.*

Robert Belknap and *John Holt* in the Village of *Dromore* in *Ireland*, not to remaine as Iustices or any officers, but to live as banished offenders, not to be out of Towne above the space of two miles upon paine of death; but the King out of his gracious bounty was pleased to give a yearly annuity of 40. pound to *Robert Belknap*, of 20. markes to *John Holt*, during their lives; and to *Roger Fulthorpe* the King allowed 40. pound, and to *William Burleigh* 40. pound during life, confining them to the

the City of *Dublin*, granting *Burleigh* the liberty of two miles, and to *Egelthorpe* three miles for their recreation, *John Carey* and *John Lecton* with the yearely allowance of 20. pound during life, are confined to the Towne of *Waterford* with the like liberty, and the like penalty; And the Bishop of *Chichester* is likewise sent to *Corke*, there to remaine with some allowance and the like penaltie.

Behold these men who feared not God, nor regarged men, but having the Lawes in their own hands, wrested them now this way, now that way, as pleased best their appetites, wresting them at their pleasures for their owne commoditie, were at the last brought downe to the depth of misery, from whence they were never able to free themselves.

On the third day of June, which was the last day of the Parliament, the King, the Queene, the Peeres of both Estates with the Commons, came to the Abbey at *Westminster*, whereas the Bishop of *London*, because it was in his Diocesse sung Masse, and the Masse being ended, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made an Oration concerning the forme and danger of the Oath, which being, although the Peeres and Commons had taken the Oath of Allegeance, and homage to the King, yet because the King was young when they tooke the Oath a-new (as at the first) at his Coronation.

These Ceremonies being performed, the Metropolitan of *England* with all his Suffragans there

preſent, having lighted a Candle, and putting it under a ſtoole, put it out, thereby excommunicating all ſuch as ſhould ſeeme to diſtaſte, diſlike, or contradict any of the fore-paſſed Acts in the laſt Parliament; And the Lord Chancellor, by the Kings appointment, cauſed all that were preſent to ſweare to keepe the ſaid Statutes inviolably whole, and undiſſolved, as good and faithfull Liege-people of the Kings, and the forme of the Parliament was obſerved throughout all the Realme.

On the morrow, which was the fourth day of June, many courteous ſalutations and congratulations having paſſed betweene the King, the Nobility, and Comminalty, the Parliament was diſſolved, and every man returned home.

And now let *England* rejoyce in Chriſt, for that the net which was laid ſo cunningly for our deſtruction, is broken aſunder, and wee are delivered. To God be the praiſe for all.

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